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# EARLY VAISHNAVA MINIATURE PAINTINGS FROM WESTERN INDIA

By W. NORMAN BROWN

[AUTHOR'S NOTE: Dr. Coomaraswamy has been kind enough to read over this article in manuscript and give me the benefit of his criticism.

After I had completed the following article on this series of miniatures, I saw a brief note on the same series by Mr. O. C. Gangoly, who had seen the manuscript before it left India for America. The note is published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IV, Parts 1 and 2, July and October, 1929 (but published Rajahmundry, 1930), pages 86-88. Mr. Gangoly rightly considers the present manuscript closely related in style to that of the *Vasanta Vilāsa* (see below), which is dated Vikrama Samvat 1508, that is, 1451 A.D. (he inadvertently writes it 1431 A.D.), thinks it earlier than the *Vasanta Vilāsa* MS, on account of its "plastic and aesthetic qualities," and says, "The MS must undoubtedly be taken to date not later than the middle of the fifteenth century." My own date is about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Gangoly had noticed the colophon on Folio 21 (see my discussion), which he calls "the last page." It is, of course, not the last page, since the page numbers actually run in the preserved folios to 59, and how much farther in the complete work we cannot say. He misreads several words in the colophon, especially *mādhava* for *māgha* (where, in addition to a misreading, he makes an unwarranted emendation; for no *Mādhava Purāṇa* is known to him). He does not report on the subject matter of the text or the paintings: "I had not the opportunity to examine the text minutely, the point of view of my study being aesthetic, rather than literary, or linguistic." He agrees, however, in thinking that the *Purāṇa* mentioned on Folio 21 "may have been an anthology collection, or encyclopedia of Vaishnava hymns, in which the *Bāla-Gopāla stuti* found an honourable place, for the hymn is glorified as the Word or Message of the Lord himself (*Bhagavat Vākya*)." He promises to publish elsewhere a study of the pictorial style on a comparative basis (with the *Vasanta Vilāsa*), and it is to be hoped that he will do so, for such a study should be very valuable.]

A series of forty early Vaishnava miniature paintings is contained on thirty-eight scattered folios of a fifteenth century paper manuscript from Western India recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. These paintings present the earliest known examples of book illustration on paper as yet brought to light from an environment which is specifically Hindu rather than Buddhist or Jaina, and at the same time constitute the most ancient surviving series of paintings illustrating the Krishna story, a cycle copiously represented in late mediæval Indian sculpture and in Rajput miniature painting from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The discovery of this series therefore may justly be considered of prime importance in the history of painting in India.

The text which the miniatures illustrate is unfortunately only fragmentary in the manuscript, and the colophon of the entire work does not appear on any of the leaves belonging to the Museum. The work ran to more than fifty-nine folios, since Folio 59 is among those preserved, but how many more there were originally it is impossible to say. So, too, it contained at least three hundred and twelve stanzas. The following folios are present containing the stanzas indicated: Folios 6 to 9 (stanzas 19 to 41); 12 (53 to 60); 14 to 19 (65 to 102); 21 (108 to 112); 23 and 24 (119 to 126); 27 and 28 (139 to 149); 30 to 33 (156 to 175); 35 (180 to 184); 38 to 42 (198 to 225); 44 to 48 (231 to 258); 50 to 54 (265 to 290); 56 (?—296); 59 (308 to 312). Of these folios many have holes in them at points where the paper was weakened by the action of the paint—in some cases these are so large as to deprive us of almost half the text on the opposite side, as in Folios 53 and 56.

At one point there is information concerning the authorship of part of the work. On Folio 21, *recto* (Figure 14) there appears as stanza 109 the following: *iti śrī-paramahansa-pravrājaka-Śrīpāda-Bilvamaṅgala-viracitā śrī-Bālagopālastutiḥ. iti Māghapurāṇe Bhagavadvākya*. "Thus the *Bālagopālastuti* (Praise of the Youthful Krishna) composed by the reverend ascetic Paramahansa Śrīpāda Bilvamaṅgala. Thus the *Bhagavadvākya* in the *Māgha Purāṇa*."

The first part of this statement indicates clearly that the preceding stanzas constitute a work entitled "*Bālagopālastuti*" (Praise of the Youthful Krishna), composed by Bilvamaṅgala, but it does not say whether the entire one hundred and eight stanzas or only a part of them are meant. In fact the second part of the statement might imply that only a part of the preceding one hundred and eight stanzas compose the *Bālagopālastuti*, and that this work, together with some others not named in stanza 109, constitute the *Bhagavadvākya*, a section of the *Māgha Purāṇa*.



आगच्छामाविददामिङ्गं सुगंधं  
तामवंपथिविपतायीकाः कामसं  
यामविभवधीरामपिस्वकं वशम  
नयंति नमः ॥ १७ ॥ त्यालीलयाणा  
कुलागापतायाणावदं नंदधरमु  
दधरः खिन्नः सकंयः सवत्सराक्ष  
पायाधरः क्माधरः दर्शितना ॥ १८ ॥



विन्यम्यावणुमधरविचरांस्तदीया। न  
व्ययमंयुलिसिरंतरयज्ञविष्टपुत्रागा  
यज्ञकलंशिखिशिखंडं तावतांसा  
माध्यगवांविजयातविचरन्मुकुंदः ॥  
शपविन्यस्तपादमवतंशतवर्द्धिबहं  
। सावीकृतानननिवशितावणुनाल  
। तजः परंपरमकारणिकं प्रस्तात  
। प्राणप्रयाणसमायममसन्निधत्तां  
॥ १६ ॥

FIGS. 1 AND 2

Bilvamaṅgala is already known to students of India's literary history. According to Professor Winternitz he lived during the eleventh century, according to Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi during the thirteenth.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Kavi, whose remarks are much fuller than those of Professor Winternitz, says that Bilvamaṅgala is also known in South India as Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka or Līlāśuka, and that many regions claim him; Mr. Kavi himself seems to incline toward Malabar. In endeavoring to fix Bilvamaṅgala's dates, Mr. Kavi shows that the outside limits are 1060 and 1350; then making an investigation of authors quoted in works ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala or Līlāśuka finds that the latest of these is Bopadeva (or, Vopadeva) who flourished about 1250. He concludes, therefore, that Bilvamaṅgala must have lived between 1250 and 1350. Mr. Kavi describes Bilvamaṅgala as distinguished for his intense devotion to Krishna, and calls him the Jayadeva of the South. He remarks, "A number of works on various subjects have come to light which bear his authorship; in Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, Upanishads, Tantras, Kavyas, and devotional lyrics his works are now extant . . . Many of these lyrics are the finest in the language." This praise is perhaps a little strong, although Bilvamaṅgala was evidently an excellent poet. Mr. Kavi does not furnish a list of Bilvamaṅgala's works known to him, although he mentions a few by name. Among these is the Kṛṣṇakarnāmrta ("Nectar for Krishna's Ear"), which is also known to Professor Winternitz. Neither of these scholars mentions the Bālagopālastuti, although Mr. Kavi knows a Bālakṛṣṇastotra. Two other works ascribed to Bilvamaṅgala, not mentioned by either Winternitz or Kavi, are the Govindadāmodarastotra ("Song of Praise to Govinda Dāmodara, that is, Krishna Bound-by-the-Belly") and the Govindāikaviṁśatikā (Twenty-one Stanzas to Govinda)<sup>2</sup>.

The name of the Māgha Purāṇa does not appear in the histories of Sanskrit literature, but a work by that name is mentioned by Burnell,<sup>3</sup> who groups it and a number of other manuscripts under the heading "Māhātmya" with the prefatory note: "There can be no doubt that most of these are very recent forgeries; they are all intended to show that celebrated events in Hindu Mythology took place at particular localities, the names of which have been transferred from Northern to Southern India." The Māghapurāṇa is described (11,272) as written in the Grantha character, one hundred and nineteen leaves, thirty-seven *adhyāyas*. This is not likely to be our work, since ours does not appear to belong to the *māhātmya* type, which is devoted to illustrating the sacred character of pilgrimage points.

Nor is it probable that our work was composed by the celebrated poet Māgha, although possibly the manuscript means us to think it was. This poet probably lived during the seventh century A.D.,<sup>4</sup> many centuries before Bilvamaṅgala, whose Bālagopālastuti is mentioned beside the Māgha Purāṇa.

Our manuscript is written entirely in Sanskrit verse, with a leaning toward the rhetorical. It shows considerable variety of metre; without endeavoring to be exhaustive I have noticed Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, Mañjubhāṣiṇī, Pṛthvī, Mandākrāntā, Śvāgatā, Mālinī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Jagatī, and Śloka, of which Upajāti and Vasantatilaka are the most frequent. The state of the text is bad. The copyist often seems not to have understood the subject matter, and corruptions are many; and the numerous holes in the pages leave lacunæ in the text that cannot be restored, while, of course, many folios are missing. Without other manuscripts an edition of the text is obviously impossible.

The theme of the text is loving adoration (*bhakti*) of Krishna, and the text fits in with the great wave of Vishnu worship that swept India during the late mediæval

<sup>1</sup>Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Vol. III, page 124; M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. III, Part 1, July, 1928, pages 66-71.

<sup>2</sup>Both mentioned in Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. III, page 36.

<sup>3</sup>A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace of Tanjore*. (Three parts: London, 1879-80), Part 3, page 195.

<sup>4</sup>Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, page 124.





FIGS. 3 AND 4



period. Parts of the Bhagavad Gītā, which is of course much earlier, exhibit the same feeling, although the full richness of devotion to Krishna appears only in the Sanskrit and vernacular literature of late mediæval and Mughal times.<sup>5</sup> Our text is an interesting and typical illustration of this type of composition, adoring the Lord both as the youthful, beautiful, sportive corporeal deity and as the great pantheistic principle in which the soul of man must lose itself.

The place of execution of the manuscript, both text and paintings, was somewhere in Western India, that is the region including Gujarat, Kathiawar, and western Rajputana. This is evident from the script employed, which is the variety of Devanāgarī commonly used for inscriptions and manuscripts in Western India during the mediæval and Mughal periods, and the style of the paintings, which is the Western Indian style, otherwise called "Jaina," "Gujarat," "Śvetāmbara."<sup>6</sup>

The date of execution of the manuscript is not given on any of the folios in the Museum of Fine Arts; nevertheless, various considerations indicate that it was probably about the middle of the fifteenth century. The following points bear upon the question.

Early Western Indian miniature painting falls naturally into two periods, the palm-leaf and the paper.<sup>7</sup> The earliest known dated examples, which are of course on palm-leaf manuscripts, come from the year 1127,<sup>8</sup> and the palm-leaf period continues down into the late fourteenth century. All the miniatures of this period are found in Śvetāmbara Jain manuscripts. The paintings are executed in small rectangular panels (*ālekhyasthāna*) left in the text, a little wider than deep, the subjects being Tīrthankaras (Saviours) monks, kings, queens, patrons who paid for the copying of the manuscripts, gods, goddesses, and lay worshippers. There is during this period, so far as I know, no case of illustrating the events of a story. The art shows comparatively few types, and the compositions are relatively uncomplicated except where the artist is copying scenes well established in sculpture, such as the *gajalakṣmī* (deity with heavenly elephants) motif. The drawing is on somewhat larger lines than in the later, paper period. The range of colours is narrow, those employed being red, yellow, blue, white, and green. Certain characteristics of the art are evident: the line of the drawing is very angular; the poses are only three—one with bilateral symmetry shows a cross-legged seated figure with face directed squarely to the front, and is confined to representations of Tīrthankaras; the second is a standing pose with the face turned to something less than full profile and usually with ankle and hip joints bent; and the third is an easy seated pose with the face again turned to something less than full profile. The second and third poses are used with all subjects except Tīrthankaras. Wherever the face is turned to the side the farther eye always protrudes beyond the contour of the cheek into space.

Before 1400 paper came into use in Western India as a surface for writing, and it soon supplanted palm-leaf. Dated Śvetāmbara Jain paper manuscripts with illustrations are known from early in the fifteenth century. With the use of paper as a surface for writing and painting, development took place in the character of the miniatures. The size and shape of the folios were altered, the paper folio being deeper than the palm-leaf, and the proportions and actual size of the miniatures were varied. Gold was added to the colour scheme, usually displacing the older yellow, and as in the

<sup>5</sup>Examples of this important literature from the Marathi region are being published in text with most readable English translation by Justin E. Abbott in an extensive series called *The Poet-Saints of Maharashtra* (Poona: Scottish Mission Industries Press, or to be ordered from Dr. J. E. Abbott, Summit, N. J.). At least six volumes have already appeared (1927-30), and many more are planned.

<sup>6</sup>The chief literature on this style of paintings is: Huttenmann, *Büssler Archiv*, 1913, Bd. II. 2; Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Part IV, Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts*, 1924; N. C. Mehta, a chapter in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1927; Ajit

Ghose, *Artibus Asia*, 1927, pages 187ff and 278ff; v. Glase-napp, plates in his *Jainismus*, Berlin, 1925; W. Norman Brown, *Indian Art and Letters*, 1929, pages 16ff; Coomaraswamy, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, February, 1930, pages 7ff; and a further article by Dr. Coomaraswamy in the present issue of *Eastern Art*.

<sup>7</sup>This same subject is discussed more fully in a paper *Miniature Painting among the Jains* which I am contributing to the forthcoming special jubilee number of the *Jaina Gazette* (Madras).

<sup>8</sup>See my paper in *Indian Art and Letters*, 1929, pages 16ff.



FIGS. 5 AND 6



case of the manuscript under discussion here a kind of old rose appears. New subjects are depicted, and new postures are illustrated, as a standing full face posture of Tīrthankaras, a half-kneeling posture, and an almost full face posture without protruding eye for the foreign (Persian) Sāhis of the Śvetāmbara Kālakācāryakathā manuscripts. More complicated compositions appear, the drawing becomes more delicate, and a full-fledged narrative illustration is developed by the Śvetāmbara Jains in the case of the Kalpasūtra, also called Paryuṣaṇakalpa, dealing, among other things, with the lives of the Tīrthankaras and illustrating them, and in the Kālakācāryakathā, with the story of the master Kālaka. These Śvetāmbara illustrations become clichés, with set compositions that are repeated many times almost unvaried in the different manuscripts. The pages are often highly decorative, the background for the text, even in the earliest dated specimens, being done in colour, and the text itself written in golden ink, while around the edges of the folios are ornamental borders of widely varied geometrical patterns.<sup>9</sup>

The art also appears outside the Śvetāmbara milieu. A secular roll manuscript of a text called the Vasantavilāsa, dated equivalent to 1451, has been reported and some of the scenes reproduced in black and white,<sup>10</sup> and now this Vaishnava manuscript has been discovered. In neither of these two do the scenes seem to be clichés.

Our manuscript appears to come from a time fairly early in the paper period. The pages are small (about nine and one-quarter by four and one-eighth inches over all), thus approaching the length of the short-leaved variety of palm-leaf manuscripts, although having greater depth. (As a general rule, the older paper manuscripts among the Śvetāmbara Jains are smaller than the later). The appearance of the pages is one of age, being less fresh than is the case with those sixteenth century paper manuscripts which, like this, are written in black ink on a plain surface. No gold is used and the ratio of width to depth in these paintings is the same as that of the palm-leaf paintings, although the dimensions are greater. These last characteristics, it is true, are not in themselves indicative of much; for our oldest dated Śvetāmbara manuscripts use gold and show a different ratio of dimensions from that of the palm-leaf examples. Yet taken in conjunction with the other points mentioned, they lend plausibility to an early dating of the manuscript. Some time about 1450 seems a fair guess, while a date as much as fifty years later, or even one fifty years earlier, although possible, would be open to question unless confirmed by unimpeachable evidence.

In style the paintings of our manuscript conform well to the earlier and contemporary Śvetāmbara miniatures. The same angularity of the drawing is present, and an even greater poverty of facial pose, for the face is always represented in that pose which shows slightly less than full profile with the farther eye protruding beyond the cheek line. The only seated posture is the easy seat with one leg hanging down before the throne or seat; crossed legs never occur. The half kneeling posture is also present. The standing postures, however, are more numerous and more free, especially as they illustrate various attitudes of the dance, and thus the artist can depict a wider range of movement in his scenes. There is also a lying posture, very indifferently executed (Folio 40, *recto*), which is really a standing posture turned sideways.

The human figure, in addition to sharing the angularity evident in Śvetāmbara painting, also shows the same exaggerated treatment of the breasts so characteristic of the paper Śvetāmbara miniatures. Both sexes are so represented, with the curves of the breasts being equally full, but the distinction between male and female is very clear. In the male only the farther breast is drawn in; in the female both are.

Certain types are very closely analogous to types appearing in Śvetāmbara paintings. Human personages of distinction, such as Vasudeva (Folio 30) and others

<sup>9</sup>For an illustration see the final plate in v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus*.

<sup>10</sup>N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, and *Rūpam*, Numbers 22-23, 1925, and O. C. Gangoly, *Ostasiatische Zeitung*, N. F. 2, 1925.

मंथानमुक्तमर्थिदं धनकमखं॥  
 बालासिवअविरामतियात्रादाया  
 कः क्षीराशिमंथानमुक्तमर्थिदं धनकमखं॥  
 बालासिवअविरामतियात्रा  
 दयाकः क्षीराशिमंथानमितिस्मृतिजा  
 तदासा। वांहास्यदंदिशावावसुदे  
 वसूत्रं॥ प्रकृतिमलंघ्यगतिविनवा  
 नाजकमणाविलंबिताकिशोरवियह  
 । यमिनामनारतविहारमानमंययुता  
 वनांतरसिकपरमहः॥ पधअधरवि  
 वविडं वितविक्रमं। मधुरावणुनिनादवि  
 नोदि।



कःसारवज्रस्त्रीजतपादधलिः। सुकृत  
 दतयुगलंमदीयामासुद्यमानपिम  
 नसुदुःखं॥ दृष्टव्यमिमन्मिमव  
 वाववसवामितवस्त्रीस्त्रीनामत्साम  
 परंमायते। सुकृतदंतयुगलंमादमहः  
 । दृष्टव्यमिमन्मिमव  
 पयपणविशालालावते। यत्रादयाल  
 चयश्रीनवोद्धिनिवा। मयनीलनिशा  
 करंसदा॥ गणवलीमनसिखयरांगा  
 ना। माननीययुगलंनिखते। कान  
 नकिमपिनः कृतस्यदं कालामघा  
 कलानाददंमदः॥ प्रकृतिरवु  
 नाविलासलक्षणाः प्रकृतिजदंघणा  
 नापराधवीह्व। सुकृतपदकिवाशनव



१५

FIGS. 7 AND 8



श्रीश्यादसो शिखि शिखि रं डकता वतं  
 मे। सो सिद्धि को मरम को ति सुक्षम।  
 मृदि। यद्विडाल शकणिका परिणा  
 मस्त्यापत्तस्येतापसी मयदमेवति  
 पंच बाणा॥१॥ यमुमुपदशुहं  
 लफवेनेहयनस्त्रालवलि तमुदावी  
 रंवातो विनालमुस्तमधुरमधुरे  
 रमंवाकविलासि विलाचने। वडक  
 वरावर्मावषमन्योत्तमादा मद॥  
 ८० सारम्यसामग्र्यमिवाता॥



मरुतिमनःप्रणिभनपात्रामाज॥१॥  
 मयिप्रयाणानिसुखपिबल्वीऊच  
 दयीडलीलितः मबालकः॥शानेःश  
 तेयावतिवेणुनिःस्वनःकिशाराव  
 षणधुरःप्रतिष्ठता॥१॥ अत्राप्रलपन्न  
 वितलीलमप्रांगवणैरिमिचतीचुव  
 नमादतापावषा। बालाकतिमधु  
 रमुग्धसुखं डविवा। माधुर्यमिहिर  
 यतामधुविहिषावः॥१॥ अत्राप्रलपन्न  
 अरणामांशारदोला रुक्मचनेतिरव  
 धिमधुरिचानीलावषणरम्यं स्मरश  
 रपरता॥

FIGS. 9 AND 10



भवत्सिनिविष्टतया। पदामकंप  
 शिवात्मीजात। परमं किमपीदम  
 कुत। उतरण्युतमकुताकुताध  
 दवितामणिश्चरणमंडनमंगना  
 नां। एतंगारुष्यतेरवस्तरवःसुरा  
 णा। इदंदावनवजधनंनकुतामाध  
 उ। इदंनि। वतसिनविष्टरादावि  
 नाये॥८७॥ याचामादवदकिचि  
 दनन्यलस्येनायवमीदसुसुषीय  
 दिदिद्यदृशि॥



साद्योगपातमसिर्वद्यसमस्तता।  
 दि। सवस्त्रिपुरादिकरादिदाम  
 वयावमंदर्षिस्त्रिताडमधुरानन  
 चंदविंवमंदस्पाणनिवायमा  
 मनकिरञ्ज॥१॥ आणटलीधरे  
 मधीरविलालनेत्रमामादनि  
 रीरितमकुतकातिपुरंआविह  
 स्मृतामृतमवस्मृतिलालनीय  
 मासुग्धमाहनमादामधुरमुग  
 रा॥१॥



FIGS. 11 AND 12



(Folios 32 and 46) are practically identical in dress and characteristics with Indian kings in the Śvetāmbara paintings. Indra (Folio 18) is the Śvetāmbara Indra, and Krishna is that same Indra with the addition of Krishna's characteristic many-pointed headdress. The bearded royal type of the Śvetāmbara miniatures also appears in the case of deities, as Rāma (Folios 24 and 59) and even Kāma, the god of love (Folio 16), but with an additional element in the treatment of the hair (see below). Female figures are also those of the Śvetāmbara paintings. The halo is frequently present, again as in the Śvetāmbara examples, but with women it usually rests low behind the head, while with men it is higher up.

In the case of gods and sages these Vaishnava paintings treat the hair in a fashion not known to me in Śvetāmbara manuscripts. With most of the gods, Krishna, Vishnu, and Indra being excepted, the hair is long, and hangs down, as of the four-headed Brahma (Folios 8, *verso* and 18), Kāma (Folio 16), Rāma (Folios 24 and 59), Lakṣmaṇa (Folio 59), Shiva (Folio 18). Sages (*ṛṣis*) also have long hair but it is twisted up and bound, as of Gāutama in Folio 18 and of Nārada and another in Folio 47. An almost identical treatment of the hair appears in some contemporary and earlier sculpture, of which an example from about the eleventh century is found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 41). The male cowherds wear their hair in coils with what appears to be some kind of ornament or cap (Folios 7, 31, 35, 38, and others).

The costumes are strictly Indian and are in large part like those in the Śvetāmbara paintings. Males wear the *dhōṭī* (lower garment) and scarf, a headdress, as noted above, never a turban, and are adorned with necklaces, both long and short, earrings, bracelets, and anklets. Women wear the *dhōṭī*, a *colī* (bodice) and scarf, with necklaces, long and short, anklets, bangles, earrings, and the *tilaka* (spot) on the forehead. Krishna usually wears on his forehead the two vertical lines that are the Vaishnava sectarian mark. Warriors are represented with a kind of trousers (*pañjāma*) tucked into boots with curved tips (Folio 59).

The frequent architectural settings, not without value as illustrations of fifteenth century secular construction, resemble those in the Śvetāmbara paintings, although they are more elaborate than in most of the older specimens of the latter, possibly because with the larger area of the individual picture it was possible to extend the setting farther. Vishnu, like Indra and mortal kings in the Śvetāmbara miniatures, often appears seated in a pavilion, a spire-crowned room (like a *vimāna* or chariot of the gods), which is tilted back and reduced in relative size to allow the figure to be seen (Folios 16, 18, 32, 46, and 54). For Śvetāmbara examples see Coomaraswamy *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part IV, plates 2, 4, 5, 6, etc.

In the treatment of nature a number of conventionalizations are employed. Rivers are represented by crossing series of lines, either with or without fish, as in Folios 15, 27, and so on. Clouds appear at the top of the scene as alternating wavy coloured bands (Folios 8, 14, 15, 17, 28, 30, 31, and others). Possibly they are also intended by the striped band surmounted with bicoloured series of peaks that runs along the top of the picture and continues down the right hand side (Folios 6, *verso*, and 24), although these might perhaps be meant for mountains. Forests are indicated by two or more trees in the composition (Folios 8, 17, 28, 31, 35, 38, and others), and these trees are usually, although not always, painted in a medallion-like space that looks as though it were superimposed upon the scene, and gives a decorative effect. Precisely the same treatment appears in the Śvetāmbara paintings. Flowers and the *tulasī* plant (Folios 46 and 47) are often used to fill out the composition. Heavenly flowers, treated so as to appear almost like banners or even "Chinese clouds," frequently appear above the heads of distinguished persons, such as gods (Folios 8, *verso*, 14, 15, 24, 30, 33, and others). That these are actually flowers appears from the similarity of their appearance to that of the flowers in Folio 47.

कणकनककंकणकरनिरुदपी  
 तोवरे। कमप्रसृतकृतलगतिलाव  
 दनैवेविला। ७८८। प्रकृतिवापले  
 पणयितीउजायवित्तमदः स्फुर  
 उमानसमदनकलिशाय्यावित्त  
 ॥१११॥ अंगशालिमकलस्वराज्ञ  
 सदैवाकृतिनाक्रामलाधराप  
 शलंकणितकिंकणीपदं। गोश  
 वानरणमादित्यमदः॥१११॥ !



नारायणायनमश्नयामधुसूतं  
 साशघारविषमदरणायमंत्रः। अष्टपु  
 उमवधुनारायणदित्यासुरागात्र। अत्रे  
 स्तनमुपदिशाम्यदमृद्विवाजः॥१११॥  
 इतिश्रीपरमहंसध्वजाजकृष्णीपादः॥  
 विष्णुसंगलविरचिताश्रीबालागापा  
 लस्तुतिः॥ इतिमाधवराणासर्वगोहा  
 केशी। १११॥ ॥

FIGS. 13 AND 14



Of attributes the gods Vishnu, Shiva, Brahma, and Indra carry those that are familiar. Krishna, again, often bears the customary flute, which he plays to charm the male and female cowherds and the cows, but by a strange convention it is never represented as before his mouth. Even though he is playing it, it appears behind the neck; possibly the artist felt that it would interfere with a full view of the Lord's face. The male cowherds (*gopas*) carry sticks with crooks that are used in pulling down branches for the cows, and are the symbol of their duties. The female cowherds (*gopīs*) often bear jars for milk, curds, or butter, or hold butter-balls, or operate churns. There are the usual bearers of fly-whisks; and the honorific parasol is common.

A noteworthy feature is the representation, as it seems, of the worshipping *bhakta* (devoté) author of the text himself, who appears adoring the Lord (Folio 8, verso, 15, 17, and possibly in 18, 32, and 46). In Rajput paintings also the author sometimes is depicted, as Jayadeva, author of the *Gītā Govinda*, in a miniature in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (17.2390), described but not reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part V, "Rajput Paintings," 1926, page 165, Number CCLXXX.

As is usual in the Western Indian style, as well as in Rajput, scenes are viewed from above, as from an airplane (so-called bird's-eye view or vertical projection), and there is occasional use of "continuous narration" (Folios 24 and 51), that is, the representation of two or more scenes from the same narrative in a single composition. Elements in Śvetāmbara painting that appear in Rajput paintings have already been noticed,<sup>11</sup> and this manuscript makes more evident still the continuity between the Rajput and the older art.

The theme of thirty-seven of our forty paintings, as of the text accompanying them, is the life of the youthful Krishna. Krishna is the eighth incarnation (*avatāra*) of the god Vishnu, and his story is perhaps the best loved of all those in Hindu religious lore. It is contained in the epic Mahābhārata and in literature more specifically devoted to the Vishnu cult, above all in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In the epic he is a hero allied with the Pāṇḍava brothers in their great struggle against their cousins the Kāuravas, and he figures most conspicuously as the charioteer of Arjuna, the third of the Pāṇḍavas and warrior *par excellence*. Just before the great battle, Arjuna's heart fails him as he sees his friends, kin, and teacher arrayed before him, destined to fall before his arm, but Krishna recites to him the Bhagavad Gītā ("Song of the Lord") to show him his warrior duty, and then goes on to proclaim his own divine character, reaching a climax when he reveals himself as the All in All, many-faced, many-eyed, many-armed, with all the divine accoutrements, a vision exalting and terrifying.

There is no need to retell here all the Krishna story. Our text and illustrations are concerned with the youthful life, chiefly portraying incidents that may be found in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.<sup>12</sup> In Mathurā ruled the wicked king Kāṁsa. His sister was Devakī, wife of Vasudeva, and there was a prophecy that her eighth son would destroy the tyrant. As fast as her sons were born Kāṁsa had them killed until six were gone, but the seventh, Balarāma, sometimes considered an incarnation of the many-headed serpent Śeṣa that supports the god Vishnu, was transported while still a foetus from Devakī's womb to the womb of Rohiṇī in Gokula, where he was born and preserved from the rage of Kāṁsa. The latter cast Vasudeva and Devakī into prison under strong guard. The eighth pregnancy of Devakī was with Krishna. When he was born, he revealed himself to his parents as the Primeval Being (*ādi-puruṣa*), dark-coloured, wearing his crest and necklace, bearing ornaments, with the attributes of Vishnu in his four hands, namely, conch, discus, mace, and lotus. All the gods came to adore him (Folio 18). Then he erased the memory of this vision

<sup>11</sup>See in I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols*, Paris, 1928.

<sup>12</sup>Edited and translated by Burnouf and others, *Le Bhāgavata*

*Purāṇa*, 5 vols: Paris, 1840–1898. An English translation of a Hindi translation of the Sanskrit may be found in F. Pincott, *The Prema-Sāgara*: London, 1897.





FIGS. 15 AND 16



from his parents' mind, so that they thought that only a mortal son had been born, and, fearing that Kāṁsa would slay the child, they lamented; but miraculously Vasudeva was enabled to escape from prison and ford the river Yamunā, magically made to subside when Krishna's foot touched the water, and with his infant son in his arms he carried him to Gokula, there to substitute him for the new-born daughter of Nanda and Yaśodā, who in turn miraculously lost all recollection of the fact that the child born to them had been a daughter (Folio 30). Nanda and Yaśodā, thinking Krishna their son, raised him (Folios 6 and 23). Kāṁsa endeavoured to destroy Krishna, having learned what had happened, and sent various demons, of whom one, Pūtanā, is represented in our paintings. Pūtanā, putting poison in her breasts, arrayed herself in her finery, went to Yaśodā, took up Krishna, and began to nurse him. But Krishna sucked the very life out of her so that she fell down dead, while no harm came to him (Folio 51). As a child Krishna crawled about the courtyard (Folio 23), played many pranks with the calves, and stole curds, butter, and other dairy delicacies from the cowherds' houses, to the despair of the maids (*gopīs*) and yet to their delight (Folios 6 and 9).

At one time he was discovered eating dirt. Yaśodā, reproving him, commanded him to open his mouth, but when she looked inside, she saw there the entire three worlds (Folio 52). He used to interfere with the churning (Folio 12). Once for his pranks he was tied to a post (Folio 48) or to a mortar (Folio 6, *verso*). He pulled this mortar along until it was caught between two trees, and then by the exercise of divine strength he uprooted the two trees, whereupon there stood forth two beautiful young men, sons of the god Kubera, who had been cursed by the sage Nārada to become trees until Krishna should release them.

When Krishna was five, Nanda and Yaśodā, with the cowherds and maids, went across the Yamunā to the forest of Vṛndāvana (Rādhā's forest). Krishna insisted on becoming a cowherd. Various demons attacked him, sent by Kāṁsa, but he destroyed them all. The god Brahma once stole away the cows and cowherds, but Krishna, that great illusion-maker, created others that were even more formidable looking than the originals, and Brahma, recognizing Krishna's superiority, worshipped him (Folio 8, *verso*).

Many other episodes are related of Krishna's life as a cowherd, only a few of which are represented in our paintings. Of those that are, the one that recurs most often is the playing of his flute, with which he charms the cowherds, male and female, and the cows alike (Folios 7, 14, *recto*, 15, 17, 21, 31, 33, 35, 38, 44, 45). Among the important episodes omitted are the stealing of the *gopīs*' clothes while they are bathing; the conquest of the serpent Kāliya; the attack by Indra upon the cowherds, whom Krishna protected by holding Mount Govardhana above them on the tip of his finger; the begging of food from the Brahmans of Mathurā, who refused it but were foiled by their wives, who gave it and reaped the reward.

In the month of Kārttika Krishna called the female cowherds to the dance he had promised when he stole their clothes. They came deserting their husbands, longing for Krishna. He at first danced with them, then abandoned them, and they searched for him in despair; then he came again and danced with them, exercising Yoga power to multiply his body so that each girl thought she had him as a partner (Folio 14, *verso*). Of all the girls his favorite was Rādhā (Folios 14, *recto*, 15, 28, 41, and others), who is an incarnation of Lakṣmī, Vishnu's chief consort (Folio 14, *recto*).

The story now goes on to events not represented in our miniatures, although some receive reference in the text, telling how he won many victories over demons, conquered the wicked Kāṁsa, and had many other adventures. One other scene depicted is the winning of his conch (Folio 17).

The series contains other paintings characterizing erotic features of Krishna's life, as of Kāma, the god of love, exercising his influence upon Krishna (Folio 16), of

यस्मिन्त्यनियस्यगणेशतरेः क्रो  
 वद्विषश्चंदकीयस्मिन्टणनियध  
 स्याद्यापसुरतीर्जिघ्रसृष्टाधुजी  
 दिः। यस्मिन्त्यनियस्यवित्तमग  
 तंवांवरुदारः सिंधुरास्त्रहंदावना  
 कल्याक्रमवनेनवाकिशोरसाद  
 ॥३७॥ मालामवृद्धनकमलंदि  
 यमयाजनमोदवाडाक्षीत्रयनृ  
 गलेमंदाधेरंमदीयं। आवादाय  
 णयरसिकेरज ॥ ॥



नमस्तास्मेशशादायादायादायादा  
 दासायदिराधासुरवांताजंनोताजं  
 विवर्द्धति ॥ १४४॥ बर्द्धपीडमनोदराणिम  
 धुरास्मरानातंइत्यादागदीकाशिवे  
 शितांबुद्धिमदागवाणिगात्रश्रियांश्रुदा  
 णिवजसुंदरीस्त्रननुवामाश्रित  
 सिमाडद्वीणानिडरासदाभिनकशंध  
 वंतिधेरंदिशो ॥ ॥



FIGS. 17 AND 18



Krishna in a swing with *gopīs* (Folios 19 and 40), of Krishna and Rādhā in a love scene in the forest (Folio 28), and of the same pair in a lovers' quarrel (Folio 50).

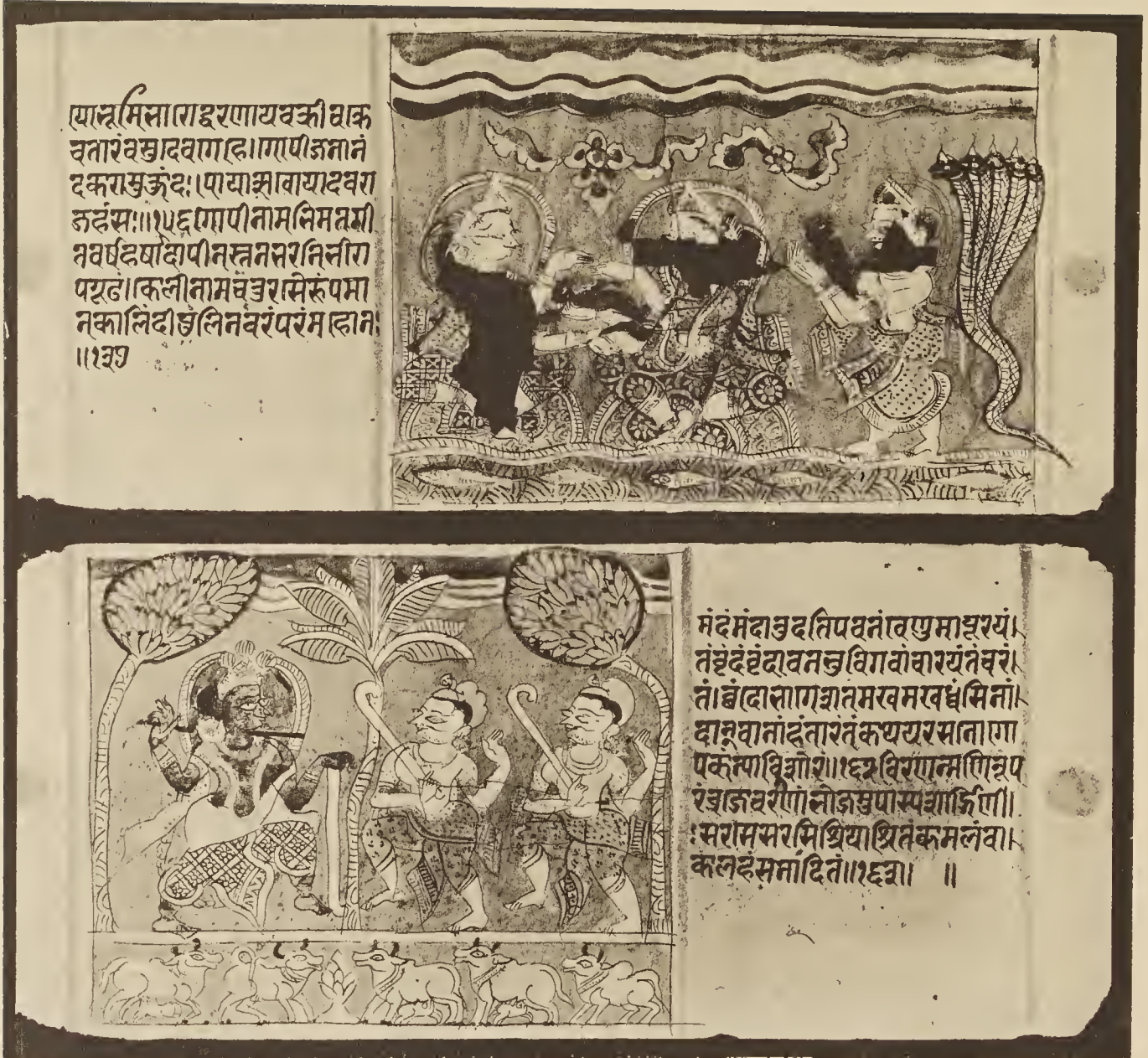
One other scene shows him honoured by sages (Folio 47).

In addition to the thirty-seven scenes of the youthful life of Krishna, there are two paintings in the series not connected with the Krishna story, but with that of Rāma Candra, also an incarnation of Vishnu, whose doings are recounted in the epic Rāmāyaṇa. One of these (Folio 59) represents the battle between Rāma aided by his ally, the monkey-god Hanumat, and the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, who had abducted Rāma's wife Sītā and carried her to his fortress in the island of Lankā. The other (Folio 24) is of an anecdote in the Rāma story, having reference to the well-known tale of the sage Gāutama, his wife Ahalyā, and the god Indra, who seduced that frail lady.

Last of all, one painting (Folio 27) illustrates the dance of Shiva, possibly through a misunderstanding of the text.

The mystical interpretation of the Krishna legend is well established and well-known, and needs no more than a passing reference here. Krishna is the Beloved of the Universe and the human soul seeks him. The erotic narrative, therefore, symbolizes the quest and attainment. All creatures come to worship him, Vasudeva and Devakī in being his parents, Kāṁsa in being his enemy, the *gopīs* in being his mistresses. In the work we have before us, this feature is always present. Much as the author loves the physical, outward form of the scene, its inner content is still more important; and he prays constantly that he may realize the Maker of Illusion. The story in its application is the great mystic legend of India, and those who know the erotic symbolism used in Western Christian mysticism will be neither surprised nor shocked at the turn the same human craving for union with the Absolute takes in Indian mysticism. The difference is perhaps not much more than one of greater variety and exuberance of the imagery in India, springing from a more ancient tradition and a greater development of the imagination.

The manufacture of the manuscript with the illustrations seems to have been much like that of the Śvetāmbara manuscripts. The page was blocked off with a panel (*ālekhyasthāna*) indicated for the miniature. The text was then written on, and afterwards the page was given to the artist to make the illustrations. But there are some noteworthy differences. In the Śvetāmbara manuscripts the weight of importance between text and illustration always seems to have been in favour of the text. Here, as also in the case of the Vasantavilāsa manuscript, the weight seems to have been in favour of the illustration. This seems clear from the distribution of the text in the folios. In the Śvetāmbara manuscripts the pages are always full, except of course for the last page, and the illustrations are inserted into the text in the allotted spaces. But in our manuscript the folios seem to have been assigned to certain subjects. The text was written in with the stanza giving the theme of the painting at the top of the page. Other stanzas followed until the stanza came which was to give the theme of the next illustration, and then a new folio was started. In most cases the reverse side of the folio is only about half filled with text. Two folios (6 and 14) have paintings on both sides. The paintings are also considerably larger than is the case with the contemporary Śvetāmbara paper manuscript illustrations. The latter, in the early part of the paper period, measure about three inches wide by three and a half deep; ours about five inches wide by four deep. The width in our paintings is the greater dimension, unlike the Śvetāmbara paper examples, although, as mentioned above, the width is the greater dimension in the still older palm-leaf examples. Again, in our manuscript the rubrication of the string hole in the center of the page, which is general in the Śvetāmbara manuscripts and reproduces the actual treatment of the string hole in the palm-leaf manuscripts, is missing; the



FIGS. 19 AND 20



paintings cover the place where the spot would be. The red spots on the side, where in the older palm-leaf manuscripts the page numbers were written, still appear.

The quality of these paintings as works of art is very high. The drawing has the same careless surety that marks the Śvetāmbara examples, and the same vigorous movement. The composition is almost invariably excellent, the main features of the scene never being crowded by the accessory elements, yet being correctly complemented by them. The colour effects are excellent, as unfortunately cannot be seen from the black and white reproductions presented here. The most surprising feature of the colouration is to me the use of yellow, regularly appearing here, as in Rajput paintings, in Krishna's costume (*pītāmbara*), contrasting effectively with the dark blue of his body, and handled with a degree of skill not to be expected from the Śvetāmbara paintings, which in the paper examples generally employ gold, and when they use yellow achieve less marked success.

These paintings, so far as I can see, show almost no trace of Persian influence, although possibly some of the Śvetāmbara examples on paper do. Ours seem, in fact, more closely allied to the palm-leaf examples of the Śvetāmbaras than to the paper, and so, too, seem the paintings of the Vasantavilāsa manuscript. This statement does not mean, of course, that they are nearer to the palm-leaf examples than are the Śvetāmbara paper paintings. But Persian influence soon comes in and the fifteenth century Śvetāmbara miniatures of the Kālakācaryakathā show a few evidences of it, while the Rajput miniatures from the succeeding centuries are in a style that retains many elements from this early Western Indian art but adds many others, with the result that the final effect is vastly different.<sup>13</sup>

#### EXPLANATION OF THE PAINTINGS

The meaning of the paintings would often be unintelligible without the accompanying text. Yet the state of the text is so unsatisfactory that it has not seemed worth while to attempt a full rendering. It has been used in part, when the passages are concerned directly with the illustrations, but even in such cases corrections frequently have been necessary. The emendations will, I hope, commend themselves to those scholars who care to examine the portions of the text reproduced in the plates.

The order of the figures is not in all cases that of the folios in their manuscript sequence; but since they were photographed in pairs, I have allowed the jumbled arrangement to stand.

FIGURE I. Folio 6, *recto*. At the right the youthful Krishna, as yet unskilled in the play of love, and bashful (*mugdha*) standing on a pedestal ornamented with mythical monsters; before him a *gopī* with a halo, who entices him to her home with the words, "Come, Govinda, I will give you milk." In the center another *gopī*, who holds the infant Krishna in her arms. At the left a third *gopī*, possibly Rādhā, with arms upraised supporting a jar. Overhead an architectural setting.

The difficulty in this picture is to interpret the central *gopī* and the presence of the infant Krishna in her arms. The text, which is as follows, does not seem to remove the difficulty:

*āgaccha govinda dadāmi dugdham  
mugdham taṁ evaṁ pathi vipratārya  
kāḥ kāmasaṁgrāma vibhā (MS dha) vadbhīram  
api svakam veśma nayanti na sma. (19)  
yo līlayā gokulagopanāya  
govarddhanam bhūdharam uddadhāra  
khinnah sakampah sa babbhūva rādhā-  
payodharakṣmāddharadarśanena. (20)*

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part IV, page 36; Part V, pages 27f; Brown, *Indian Art and Letters*,

Vol. III, pages 23f; and a forthcoming article by Brown in the Jubilee Number of the *Jaina Gazette*.

कंठवसक्तुलमीदलउणमा  
लंवकृष्णालासमिताकासुनका  
तिजाले। पक्कांतरालरजनीकफा।  
वारुनालंवदामदेसुवदमंषसुद  
ववाला॥ दषत्रलमविलमनुगध।  
स्निग्धस्मितं वज्रसुंदरीमदनकद  
नस्त्रिधनं वदरवदनां बुजांतरु  
पायास्ताकृष्णप्रतिप्रिताधरंज  
यतिवियतिप्रणीरणीदृशामदय  
नमद॥ दृष्टशभाक



कसूरशितिलकंललाठफलाका।  
वक्रस्थालाकोसुने। नागायत  
चामोक्किकंकरतालावणंकर।  
कंकरांसवंगिदशिवंदनं सकल  
यत्कंठवसुक्तवलिगापस्त्रीप  
शिवहिताविजयतगायलत्रा।  
डामणि॥ ७१ आयासमदवागा।  
विवालयरायारक्षयमादिस्त्रि  
न॥ वायावर्षतिशारदंडललि  
तांवापल्यपावंधशां। आयासा



FIGS. 21 AND 22



“ ‘Come, Govinda, I will give you milk!’ What (*gopīs*) would not thus beguile this youth along the road to their own house, inexperienced as he, is though bold in the states of excitation of the love conflict? (19)

“He, who as if in play upheld mount Govardhana to protect Gokula, at the sight of Rādhā’s breast, which was like mount Kṣmādhara, became exhausted and agitated. (20)”

The left-hand *gopī* might be Rādhā whose breasts, as she holds up her arms, are visible to Krishna; but we are still left without plausible interpretation of the central female figure.

FIGURE 2. Folio 7, *recto*. At the left Krishna as a cowherd (*gopa*), wearing *dhōṭī* and yellow scarf, and with his characteristic ornament of peacock feathers on his head. He carries a staff, curved at the end to pull down branches for the cows, and is playing his flute, which by a convention of this art always appears behind the neck. Facing him are two cowherds, charmed with the music. Behind them, running vertically down the picture, is the river Yamunā, and on the other side the cows, which he subdued by his playing. Krishna stands beneath a tree, while across the upper left-hand corner is a cloud. The author in stanza 26 prays that at the time of death he may see Krishna before him in this guise.

FIGURE 3. Folio 8, *verso*. At the left Brahma with four faces, of which one does not show, and wearing the long hair that characterizes most gods in this series. He is seated on a throne, and in one of his hands holds a flower, while he honours Krishna. Above him to the right heavenly flowers. At the right of center is Krishna as Vishnu, four-armed but bearing only two (discus and mace) of his usual attributes. Behind him a female fly-whisk bearer. This picture refers to the vain attempt of Brahma to surpass Krishna already mentioned above. In front of Krishna is a small male figure in an attitude of adoration, and before Krishna another lies prostrate. At the top are clouds.

The text is worth quoting:

*brahmāpi cāruśikhipicchakṛtāvataṁsam*  
*taṁ sampadāṁ sadanam ardditakaṁsavamaṁsam*  
*guṇjāṣṭhalābharanabhūṣitakaṇṭhanālaṁ*  
*nālaṁ kilākalayitum* (MS. *kilākalīyatum*) *basudevabālam*. (32)  
*carantam ekaṁ manasāpi durgraham*  
*kalindajātā* (MS. °*jānī* corrected to °*jātī*) *ratamālakānane*  
*babandha drka* (MS. *drka*) *śrīkhalayā 'balā 'balān*  
*niraṅkuṣam kṛṣṇamahāmadam* (MS. °*bāmamam*) *gajam*. (33)

“Even Brahma, of course, was not able to bind (or, to comprehend) the son of Vasudeva, who wears an ornament of his beloved peacock feathers, the abode of wealth (punningly, of Lakṣmī), demolisher of the family of Kāṁsa, and whose neck is adorned with ornaments made of *guṇjā* berries. (32)

“As he who is hard to grasp even with the mind wandered alone, in a thicket in the love-forest of the Yamunā, a powerless maid without the use of strength and having no elephant goad, bound the black (Krishna) mightily rutting elephant with the fetter of her glance.” (33)

FIGURE 4. Folio 9, *verso*. Architectural setting. At the right, standing on a bracket pedestal, is the child Krishna; at the left a crystal pillar (*manistambha*) with a reflection of Krishna dancing. Two *gopīs*, seated on a cushion, face the reflection, which they take to be Krishna himself, and one of them offers him two balls of butter (*agre dvidhā vitene navaṇītam ekaṁ*). In front of her is a large earthen vessel used for churning, with the churning-stick leaning on its edge. Four smaller vessels appear above it, as though suspended in space, but perhaps with allowance for “vertical perspective” meant to be represented as on the floor.

वेदपिडनवरवडः कर्णियाः क  
 णिकारं विचादमः कनककपि॥  
 शोवेजयतीवमालारंक्षनावणार  
 धयसुधयाप्रयत्नागापदेदिदंदा  
 राणंस्वपदरमाणोपविशात्गीता॥  
 कीर्ति॥ १८८॥ अपारंरुपारंजितमे  
 रदद्याविशालं दृशालं धिताश्रित  
 श्रीमाउदारसुदारंनमत्ताया  
 गंकिवारं दृशारंरुनंमन्निधने  
 १८९॥



उदेणिं वितसृद्धिगजगतिनि  
 त्राजनशामालाविणुलात्रका  
 रांगुलीनिरतिशयित्यस्पवक्रोडु।  
 जगद्यन्तगानरामनगाः प्रसुदितो  
 दंदावनवारयन्प्रीकृष्णः श्रियमा  
 नताउत्तवतागापालबुडामणिः  
 ॥ १८८ ॥ मत्तमिस्करुवत्तवीवि  
 लामणिवृत्तरप्रणयिमन्नुमिजित  
 कमलावतवरकालिंदकन्यका  
 कलहंसकंठ। कलरुजितादृश  
 १८९॥



FIGS. 23 AND 24



FIGURE 5. Folio 6, *verso*. At the left appears the infant Krishna tied to a mortar by Yaśodā to curb his mischievous pranks. At first her efforts to tie him were fruitless, but when he saw that she was distressed he allowed himself to be bound. Behind the mortar is a tree and before it another, possibly representing the two trees in which the sons of Kuvera were confined by Nārada's curse. The story is that when Krishna dragged the mortar between the trees and uprooted them, the young men were released from the curse. At the right, facing Krishna, is Yaśodā with her hand raised in an attitude of reproof. Running along the top of the picture and down the right hand edge is either a bank of clouds or a range of mountains. A flower in the upper right hand corner completes the composition.

The text says:

*yaśodayā gāḍham ulūkhalena* (MS. *alūṣalena*)  
*gokaṇṭhapāśena nibadhyamānaḥ*  
*saṁmarddayan pāṇitalena netre*  
*ruroda mandam navaṇṭacāuraḥ* (MS. *°ram*). (21)  
*ulūkhalam* (MS. *ulūśala*) *vā yaminām mano vā*  
*vrajāṅganānām kucakuḍmalam vā*  
*murāriṇāmnaḥ kalabbasya viṣṇor*  
*ālānam* (MS. *ālanam*) *āsīt trayam eva loke*. (22)

“Tightly tied by Yaśodā with a cow halter to a mortar, rubbing his eyes with the palms of his hands, the Butter-thief quietly wept. (21)

“Whether it was the mortar or the wish of those restraining him or the breast-buds of the female cowherds, there was a triple bond to the world for the elephant calf Vishnu under the name of Murāri (enemy of Mura). (22)”

FIGURE 6. Folio 14, *recto*. Krishna is in the center, in his hand the flute, by his side the youthful Lakṣmī, a maid filled with the sentiment of love (*bālyalakṣmīb pārsve bālā pranayasarasā*), over her head a heavenly garland. The youthful Lakṣmī is Rādhā, who is often regarded as an *avatāra* of the goddess. Behind Krishna are two *gopīs* as fly-whisk bearers, and behind Rādhā (Lakṣmī) a *gopī* as attendant. A miniature bull and a cow appear at Krishna's feet. Overhead are clouds.

FIGURE 7. Folio 12, *recto*. In an architectural setting (a palace) distinguished by elegant pillars with elaborate capitals, are two *gopīs* churning. The child Krishna interferes. The description of the scene in stanza 53 is lively. Removing the ditto-graphy, we have:

*manthānam ujja mathitum dadhi na kṣamas tvam*  
*bālo 'si vatsa virameti yaśodayoktaḥ*  
*kṣīrābḍhimanthanam iti smṛtijātaḥ*  
*vāñcchāsyadam diśatu vo vasudevasūnuḥ* (MS. *°nu* but corrected). (53)

“ ‘Let go the churning-stick! You are not able to churn milk. You are young, child, stop!’ When Yaśodā spoke thus to him, he remembered the churning of the ocean of milk and smiled. May Krishna dispel illusion for you!” (53)

FIGURE 8. Folio 14, *verso*. The Rāsalīlā. Krishna at the upper left in four-armed form plays his flute; in his upper left hand is a flower (compare Folio 21); in the lower left was possibly his cowherd's crook (compare Folio 21). In the rest of the picture the *gopīs* are dancing with the multiplied bodies of Krishna, which he created by Yoga magic, each *gopī* thinking she has the real Krishna by her side.

FIGURE 9. Folio 16, *recto*. At the left Vishnu in a tilted pavilion (cf. folio 18) seated on a throne, in three of his hands attributes, namely, mace, discus, and conch, over his head an honorific parasol; facing him on a pedestal the five-armed (*pañcabāṇa*) god of love, Kāma, his bow slung over his left shoulder, his hair long, and above him also a parasol. At the right Lakṣmī, Vishnu's *śakti* (manifestation of energy in female form) and consort; above her a canopy ornamented with a swan.

मेषां वज्रतः करपञ्चवासां निवर्तिताः  
 कृष्णसुरवारवंदः। रराजगाक्षीरमुणाल  
 गोश्विपयमधस्वश्वेषदंशः॥१०३॥  
 धलिधृयालकाशासिवक्रागापांगनापा  
 गविविधितांग। गापायताक्राङ्गलगाव  
 रंवागावदीनाद्वारिपरपदं॥१०४॥  
 धिक्कात्। किलसूतवर्तितायुणाधिका  
 स्यात्। विनास्मात्सवयाइतीवमत्राष्ट्र।  
 नक्काणरतं बालाउडं बालमुपास्महेम  
 दः॥५॥



गापीनिशस्वाद्यमुखेर्विमुक्त  
 ।। शतस्मराविभुरवामशकश  
 वः। स्तनांताराववचवतासां  
 कामीवकांताधरपञ्चवंपिवन्  
 ।। ८८॥ मधुरमधुरविवेशावुवतां  
 वत्यांकणयरदसिकार्षेमादि  
 शानंदसूताः। अयिमहिशानंद  
 सताः। अयिमरुलिमुकुंदास्मा  
 रवकारविदाश्चवणनिवयध  
 यमाप्रमंशानाथ॥१०५॥



FIGS. 25 AND 26



Stanza 79 is as follows:

*jyād asāu śikhiśikhaṇḍakṛtāvataṁsam  
sāmsiddhikīśarasakāntisudhāsamṛddhim  
yadbinduleśakaṇikāpariṇāmaḥbhāgyāt  
sāubhāgyasīmapadaṁ añcati pañcabāṇaḥ. (79)*

I suggest for this: "May she (Lakṣmī-Rādhā) win him who wears the peacock's tail as a head-ornament, who enjoys the fulness of the nectar of the affectionate loveliness of the self-perfected one (Lakṣmī, good fortune), through the fate of the development of a part of a portion of whose forehead-spot (the sign of her married state) the five-arrowed god (Kāma) reverences the place of the uttermost limit of married happiness."

FIGURE 10. Folio 15, *recto*. The scene is beside the Yamunā river, which appears at the bottom of the picture. Krishna in four-armed form is playing his flute and dancing. With two hands he holds his flute, with the other two he impudently sports with the breast-pairs of the *gopīs* (*vallavīkucadvayīdurlalitāḥ*). The *gopī* facing him with the garland above her is possibly Rādhā, distinguished so because she is an incarnation of the goddess Lakṣmī, consort of Vishnu. At the extreme left is the author, who prays that at the time of death he may have before him this vision of the youthful Krishna. The lower line of the author's eye is not drawn in, with the result that the eye appears to be shut. This feature is perhaps an intentional representation of death. Overhead is a cloud, and at the right a bent tree.

FIGURE 11. Folio 17, *recto*. Krishna in four-handed form, playing his flute. Two *gopīs* accompany him, one acting as a fly-whisk bearer, the other carrying a milk vessel tilted at a perilous angle. With two hands Krishna holds his flute, with the other two he toys with the *gopīs'* breasts. Above is the conch Pāñcajanya, which Krishna won from the demon Pañcajana. At the left in an attitude of adoration is the author, who says in stanza 86 (MS. 46) that not words nor attitudes of mind can save, only Krishna's foot (*na vacāṁsi na cittavṛttayaḥ padam ekam paripātum īśate*). In stanza 88 he prays that he may see the Lord thus. Clouds and trees complete the scene.

FIGURE 12. Folio 18, *recto*. At the left is Vishnu, four-armed carrying in three hands mace, discus, and conch, seated on a throne in a pavilion (cell under the spire of a temple or perhaps a *vimāna*, chariot of the gods) tilted back and reduced in size so as hardly to be distinguishable. Kneeling at the lower right-hand corner of the throne is Garuḍa, the man-bird, Vishnu's vehicle. Over both Vishnu and Garuḍa are honorific parasols. Four figures in two tiers of two each adore Vishnu. In the upper tier, the nearest to Vishnu is the god Shiva, who in two of his four hands carries skull and trident. Next to him is Indra, who holds in two of his four hands the elephant goad and club. The right-hand figure in the lower tier is that of the four-headed Brahma, three of whose heads appear. In two of his hands he carries a lotus and a book. The other figure, which is standing with hands in an attitude of adoration, is possibly that of the author. Shiva and Brahma wear the long hair characteristic of the gods (excepting Vishnu and Indra) in this series of paintings. Indra is the Indra of the Śvetāmbara miniatures.

FIGURE 13. Folio 19, *recto*. Krishna, four-armed, seated in an elaborate swing with two *gopīs*. One of these is a fly-whisk bearer, the other is the object of his attention and is possibly Rādhā. In one of his hands he holds a vessel, with another he fondles the whisk-bearer's breast. The scene is inexactly indicated in stanza 99:

*kvaṇatkanakakaṇkanam karaniruddhapītāmbaram  
kramaprasṛtakuntalam galitabarhabhūsam vibhoḥ  
punar prakṛticāpalam prāyayinībhujāṅkāntaram  
(MS °bhujāyamtritam, emendation conjectural)  
mahar sphuratu (MS spharatu) mānase madanakeliśayyotthitam. (99)*

नक्तिः सदानवतुनः शिष्टाणापत्वा  
 पक्षास्यनद्यः तिनिलासरसीरु  
 हादि। गापीदारपुक्ततक्षमरमर्वा  
 वणापांगतावदनपंकजराजदाम  
 ॥१६॥ आतामपाणिकमलप्रसाया  
 प्रतादमालालहारमणिऊमलदे  
 मसूत्रां आविश्रमां बुक्कणमंबुजनी  
 लमादामव्यात्रुनेजयस्थानरणम  
 दावः ॥१७॥ ॥१८॥



मंदस्मितस्वपितमुग्धमुखारविदमां  
 दानिलाऊलितकामलकाकपादि।  
 ॥गाधिदगापवनिताऊनछणपूर।  
 एणपालवालतिलाकरमतोमानाम  
 ॥११॥ मयिप्रसादमधुरिः कयाक्षिर्वीरो  
 नितादाउवरैर्विधदि। वयिप्रसान्न।  
 किमिदापरेर्त्रीः। स्वय्यप्रसान्नकिमि॥  
 दापारेर्त्रीः ॥१२॥ बालायनीलवडपत  
 उकिंकिणीकक्षालानिशमाऊघता  
 यदिगंवराय॥



FIGS. 27 AND 28



“May there appear in my heart the splendor of the Lord, with tinkling golden bracelets, holding his yellow garment in his hand, his locks in the act of escaping their bonds, the peacock feather ornament slipped away, withal inconstant by nature, in the arms of his beloved, seated in a love-swing.” (99)

FIGURE 14. Folio 21, *recto*. At the upper left Krishna, four-armed, in the guise of a *gopa*, playing his flute and dancing. In one hand is his flute, in another a lotus, in a third his cowherd's crook. Immediately below him in the picture are two *gopīs*, with whom he is dancing. The right-hand two-thirds of the picture show, above, two *gopīs*, one carrying a milk vessel, the other churning, and, below, a seated *gopī* holding two butter balls, beside her a jar. The painting is a kind of résumé of the work to this point, selecting the *rāsalīlā* and the scenes in which Krishna's fondness for butter and curds is depicted as the most characteristic.

At this point there comes the conclusion of part of the manuscript. The text reads:

*nārāyaṇāya nama ity ayam eva satyaṁ  
saṁsāraghoraviṣasaṁharaṇāya mantrāḥ  
śṛṇvantu sarvamuṇayo muditāḥ* (MS °tā) *surāgāt  
uccāistarāṁ upadiśamy aham ūrdhvabāhuḥ* (MS ūrdvavāhuḥ). (108)  
*iti śrīparamahansa pravrajakaśrīpādabilvamaṅgalaviracitā  
śrībālagopālastutiḥ. iti māghapurāṇe bhagavadvākyaṁ O* (109)

“ ‘Reverence to Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu)!’ This, and this alone, is in truth the charm that dispels the fearful poison of the round of existence (*saṁsāra*). Let all the sages learn with delight from my good passion (also, fair song), as with arms upraised I loudly teach. (108)

“Here ends the Bālagopālastuti (Praise of the Youthful Krishna) composed by the reverend ascetic Paramahansa Śrīpāda Bilvamaṅgala. Here ends the Bhagavadvākya in the Māgha Purāṇa.” (109)

The zero (0) in the text after the word *bhagavadvākyaṁ* is frequently used in Śvetāmbara manuscripts to indicate that a longer and well-known quotation has been abbreviated. What its exact significance is here I cannot say.

For a discussion of the works and the author mentioned in these portions of the text, see pages 167 and 169.

FIGURE 15. Folio 23, *recto*. An elaborate architectural setting, showing at the left Krishna crawling on a kind of throne. Facing him, seated on a large platform, are two figures, one a female, who extends a ball of butter towards Krishna, the other, a male. These are presumably Yaśodā and Nanda. The significance of the scene is made clear by stanza 119:

*peṣaye* (MS *pīṣaye*) *'ham abhitāni sarvany  
evam ity upadiśann iva loke  
pādajānukarapiṣṭakarīṣaṁ  
prāṅgane kam api bālam upāse* (119)

“I worship a child who in a courtyard crushed refuse with his feet, knees, and hands, as though instructing the world, ‘Thus do I crush all evils!’ ” (119)

FIGURE 16. Folio 24, *recto*. An incident from the life, not of Krishna, but of Rāma, another *avatāra* (incarnation) of Vishnu, who is here involved in only an adventitious capacity. The story is that of the sage Gāutama and his erring wife Ahalyā, which appears often in Indic literature. One day when Gāutama was absent from the hermitage, Indra approached, solicited Ahalyā, and she sinned with him. Gāutama returned sooner than he was expected and Indra took the form of a cat. The sage asked Ahalyā who was there. She answered equivocally in words that might mean either “a cat” or “my lover.” Gāutama saw through the deceit, and cursed the

PLATE CXV. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*



pair, Indra that he should bear upon his body a thousand representations of that which he had desired of Ahalyā, and Ahalyā that she should turn to a stone. The marks on Indra's body afterwards were changed to eyes, whence he is called "Thousand-eyed" (*sahasrākṣa*) and Ahalyā's fate was mitigated to the extent that when, long afterwards, Rāma passing through the forest where the rock lay should touch it with his foot, she should be restored to human form.

Our painting has in the background alternate wavy bands surmounting a striped line at the top of the picture and continuing down the right-hand side, which represent either a cloud bank or a range of mountains. In the center Rāma appears twice, bearing a bow, as is common in the iconography of that hero. His hair is long, like that of other deities in this series. He is apparently walking through the forest, and the two representations show him before and after touching the charmed stone. In the sky are two garlands, which are not placed squarely above him, but are probably meant for his honour. Facing him is Ahalyā, restored to her human estate, holding out to him a garland. At the extreme left, on a pedestal, is Gāutama, who has now again become "a family man" (*kuṭumbin*), and from his gesture of welcome seems pleased. His long hair is twisted up like that of other sages (*ṛṣi*) in the series.

*sakṛd api kila jantur yāir abhidhyātamātrāiḥ*  
*parimṛditakasāyaḥ kalpate mokṣanāya*  
*raghukulakumudendor (MS °madendor) hanta tāir eva puṇyāiḥ*  
*padakamalarajobhir gāutamo 'bbhūt kuṭumbī. (123)*

"That potent dust from the lotus feet of the moon of the lotuses of the line of Raghu (Rāma), through which, if it is merely called to mind, a creature, as we know, at once gains salvation, his sins crushed—through it (the dust) alone Gāutama became a family man. (123)"

FIGURE 17. Folio 27, *recto*. The god Shiva, white as is characteristic of him, around his neck a serpent, as usual, eight-armed, with long matted hair (he is the ascetic *par excellence*), in his dancing manifestation. In two of his hands he holds up the many-headed serpent Śeṣa (on which Vishnu usually reclines); in another he carries a white elephant, said in the text to belong to Hari, which here probably means Indra, while the elephant would then be Āirāvata. Below him, but apparently behind him, is his bull, on which he regularly rides. Behind the bull is a scaly looking object with an animal's head, which I cannot identify. At the right of Shiva is a peacock which the text indicates belongs to Kārttikeya. At the left is a *gopī*.

This is a most unusual manner of depicting Shiva. For him to carry Śeṣanāga and Indra's elephant is, as far as I am aware, otherwise unknown. It seems possible that the artist made this picture through a misunderstanding of stanza 139. That stanza as edited is as follows, some of the emendations being conjectural:

*yasmin nṛtyati yasya śekharaḥ bhārāiḥ (MS seṣara°) krāuñcadviṣaś candrakī*  
*yasmin drpyati yasya ghoṣasurabhīr jighran (MS jighnan) vṛṣo dhūrjateḥ*  
*(MS °jatiḥ)*  
*yasmin rajyati yasya vibhramagatām (MS °gatām) vāñchan (MS voñchan)*  
*hareḥ sindhuras (MS °rās)*  
*tad vṛndāvanakelika (MS °kelya) drumavanam tam vā kiśoram bhaje. (39)*

This I translate: "That grove of *kadamba* trees in Vṛndāvana and that youth I adore, in which grove Kārttikeya's peacock dances with his (Krishna's) crest-bearers (peacocks?), in which grove Shiva's bull rages, sniffing the sweet-smelling cows (*surabhi* is also the fabulous cow of plenty) of the land of Ghoṣa, in which grove Indra's (*hareḥ*) elephant ruts, lusting for his (Krishna's) [passion-] agitated she-elephant." (39 = 139)

Ignoring the points that are not entirely clear to me, I take this stanza to refer to the notion that at the time when Krishna danced the Rāsālilā with the *gopīs* all the

अरिपंकजानमृलिशालउलमी॥  
 मेजरिकिविदप्यामि॥२५॥अवबो  
 धयपायसारायवेवराणाङ्केःशरणा  
 निलाषिणीमां॥२६॥परिपालयतःक  
 पान्जाल्यमकुङ्कदितमार्त्तबाधव॥  
 मरुलीमुडलस्वनाताराकविदाक॥  
 स्यितावलाउज॥१४३॥कटाकुमा॥  
 लाकमलालया॥काराउतःकामड  
 द्याविन्नति॥विन्नतिनारावततापत  
 तैविश्रमविश्रमयुगव॥



गोशवंमनमिशार्किणश्चिरंक्षंमिता॥  
 त्रिरुपमं परायणं तारदादिसुनिसिच  
 तमवित्तं नंदणापतनयं नजमदा॥२५॥  
 एतकाणयचुङ्गागारुडमणिखेली  
 कवितामणि॥गोपीलावनशांतिका  
 रणमणि॥सोत्तागपुष्कामणिःयंका  
 तामणिरुक्मिणीअचमणिईद्विक  
 नृवामणिःप्रायादवशिखामणिदि  
 शउनोणापालवृडामणि॥२४॥



FIGS. 31 AND 32



gods came to witness the performance, riding on their "vehicles." The peacock is Kārttikeya's vehicle, the bull Shiva's, and the elephant Indra's. They too are considered here to have been infected with the love madness and to have exhibited it. But our picture puts all the emphasis upon Shiva, who is indeed mentioned in the text, but only in a guise secondary to that of Krishna. The fact that his name, in the second line of the stanza, appears in the nominative case (*dhurjatiḥ*), when the context indicates that a genitive is needed, may have helped to mislead the artist. The representation of Shiva bearing aloft Śeṣanāga may possibly be due to a faulty interpretation of the word of the manuscript *śeṣarabharāḥ*, which by some inexact consideration of the artist might have been given the impossible construction "supporting Śeṣa." It is, of course, obvious that the consonant *ṣ* here, as frequently, stands for *kḥ*.

This explanation of the picture, unsatisfactory as it is to accept, is the best I can offer.

FIGURE 18. Folio 28, *recto*. Forest scene, with Krishna and Rādhā in a love passage. Clouds overhead.

FIGURE 19. Folio 30, *recto*. Scene beside the Yamunā, which appears in the foreground. At the right appears a male figure bearing the infant Krishna, a garland above the child, the serpent Śeṣanāga following with heads upraised to give protection. The man might be either Vasudeva, carrying the child from Kāṁsa's prison or Nanda receiving him. At the left are two women, one probably being Yaśodā, with the infant Krishna supported between them. Clouds are above. The text is not specific about the personages in the picture, only giving praise to Krishna and invoking a vision of the Yamunā bank.

FIGURE 20. Folio 31, *recto*. Krishna in the forest playing his flute and holding his cowherd's crook. Before him two cowherds and beneath him in the picture bulls and cows, some with their calves sucking, all joyously listening to the music. Trees and clouds are in the scene. As usual, Krishna's flute appears behind his neck instead of at his lips, although he is playing it.

FIGURE 21. Folio 32, *recto*. A four-armed Vishnu is seated on his throne, with mace, discus, and conch in three of his hands, and his vehicle, the man-bird Garuda, kneeling before the throne; over each an honorific parasol. According to stanza 167 the author worships the fair-faced son of Vasudeva (Krishna), whose neck has around it a garland of the virtuous *tulasī* leaves, whose breast is adorned with the *kāustubha* jewel, a net of loveliness (*kāntijāla*); on his forehead, the moon. At the left is a female fly-whisk bearer; at the right, under a canopy, a male figure offering a garland to the god. This is possibly the worshipping author, although somewhat more splendid in appearance than is the general case when such a one is represented.

FIGURE 22. Folio 33, *recto*. Krishna, described in stanza 171 as the crest-jewel of the cowherds; on his forehead, a spot of musk; on his breast, the *kāustubha* jewel; at the end of his nose, a pearl (ring); in his hand, his flute; on his wrist, a bracelet; on all his body marks of the worship of Vishnu; around his neck a string of pearls; he is himself surrounded by the cowherds' wives. Not all these ornaments are present in the painting. Of the *gopīs* one is a fly-whisk bearer, and three offer vessels of milk or curds. Clouds are above.

FIGURE 23. Folio 35, *recto*. Krishna playing his flute and delighting four cowherds, with crooks, and the cows. Clouds are pictured above. Two small expanded lotus blossoms are used to fill out the composition.

FIGURE 24. Folio 38, *recto*. Scene similar to that in the preceding picture, but with only three cowherds, and these in different poses from those of the preceding.

FIGURE 25. Folio 39, *recto*. Forest scene, with clouds overhead. Krishna bears in his two hands his conch Pāñcajanya, which he took from a demon of the sea named

षष्ठायायावशमनायमिष्टायणा।  
 नःमधेवबंधननीनवनीतलोरांत  
 द्वंधनेतिजगतीसुदराण्याणामाको  
 शकारणमादानितरावन्तवा॥२५२  
 अहमदमददन्धंक्षमकालाविडा  
 लःकवलथतिनुरक्ष्म्यात्मनकां  
 किमतन।इतिगदतिसुनेदतातमं  
 जकावताःस्वयमदमवितास्यामि  
 त्कर्वकवालाक



आदावकीयंस्तनकालकटंजिघां  
 मयापाययदपसाधी।ललगतिक्ष  
 वृधितोनाताःभ्येकंवादयालुंशरा  
 णंअजम॥१॥पापमादश्चरवाजगतां  
 मादश्चराजनाईनिवाजगदंनरात्म  
 मि।तायानीलदधतिपत्रिस्त्रिमन  
 यापिसंक्षिप्तमाण्डावाषरा॥१२००  
 हृषारत्रंनुवनवलयस्याधिला॥

FIGS. 33 AND 34



Pañcajana (also called Śaṅkhāsura). The cows gaze at him enraptured. The text of stanza 203 (in the manuscript wrongly numbered 103) bears upon the scene:

*sa pāñcajanyaḥ karapallavābhyām  
niveśitaḥ kṛṣṇamukhāravinde (MS °vande)  
rarāja gokṣīramṛṇālagāuras  
tripadmamadhyastha ivāiśa haṁsaḥ. (203)*

“The conch Pāñcajanya set in the two shoots of his hands, before the lotus of his face, white as a milky lotus-fibre, shines here like a swan in the midst of three lotuses.” (203)

FIGURE 26. Folio 40, *recto*. An elaborate architectural setting, with Krishna (four-armed) and a *gopī* (possibly Rādhā) lying together in a swing. Two other *gopīs* keep the swing in motion. The problem of placing two figures in the swing lying side by side seems to have been too much for the artist. He has simply drawn two standing figures placed horizontally in the picture. They are actually meant to be lying side by side, as a careful examination of the relative attitudes will show, not with the *gopī* above Krishna, as might at first be thought. The artist, in addition to facing difficulties which were beyond his powers, is also observing the usual rule of “vertical perspective,” which requires him to present the scene as though viewing it from above. The scene is indicated in stanza 208 (Number 8 according to the notation in the manuscript):

*gopībhir āsvādyamukhaṁ vimuktaḥ (MS °ta)  
śete sma rātrāu sukham eva keśavaḥ  
ṣtanāntareṣv eva babbhūva tāsām  
kāmi 'va kāntādharapallavaṁ piban. (208)*

“Leaving his face to be enjoyed by the *gopīs*, Keśava (Krishna) lay comfortably at night; he was in the hollow of their breasts drinking (kissing) the shoot of the lower lip like a lover.” (208)

FIGURE 27. Folio 41, *recto*. Krishna seated with a *gopī*. The text describes him in customary terms, and expresses the wish that “we” may always adore him and may have the vision of him.

FIGURE 28. Folio 42, *recto*. Forest scene with clouds above. Two *gopīs* offer bowls to Krishna, who appears as a cowherd, carrying the crooked staff. Four cowherds are represented at the bottom of the picture. Again the author, after describing Krishna in familiar phrases, invokes the vision of him.

FIGURE 29. Folio 44, *recto*. At the upper right the cows in their pen. At midnight hearing the sound of Krishna's flute and longing for him, they break their bond, and disregarding danger, with themselves their own leaders, follow the music. This is essentially the translation of stanza 231. At the bottom left is Krishna playing his flute, and in the rest of the scene are *gopīs* in various postures.

Stanza 231 is as follows:

*niśamya veṇudbvanisiddhamantram  
mādburyam ādhāryā (MS ādburya) harer niśīthe  
ālānam ācchidyā bhayam nirasya  
gāvaḥ (MS gāva) svagopyaḥ svaram anvayus tam. (231)*

FIGURE 30. Folio 45, *recto*. A forest scene of cows following Krishna who plays his flute. It is described in stanza 236. The mystical interpretation is apparent.

*svāiram carantyo navasatphalāni (MS navaśatphelāni)  
cchāyāsu vṛndāvanapādapānām  
panthānam āpur nigamāntagandhīny  
āghrāya (MS āmghrāya) govindapadāni gāvaḥ. (236)*

कृष्णनाद्यगतनरंभुनाभुजकिता  
 त्वद्वया। सत्यं कृष्णकिमतदादुशाली  
 भिषावपश्यान्ते। व्यादहीतिविकीशि  
 तववदनेदृष्टासमस्तजगत्। मातातस्य  
 रुगामविस्मयपदपायाभावा। कशव।  
 ॥२७५॥ कस्मिन्मदसमनः। यस्तुवता।  
 वृंदशिषामंडलीतापिष्ठप्रवावन्तं।  
 रुधयवाशवलत्मीलय। निव्यजिस्मा  
 यमानतासरसीनालीकागालसुवल  
 वृक्षलीपाकउतः। पुनपरिणमंकल्पानु  
 स्माण॥२७६॥ आदालयनविशिषाम



विस्वाद्युंजठरपरायाष्टंगवावध।  
 काकुषामपाणोमसृणकवलंतक  
 लाभ्युलीषा। निष्टमाधस्वपरिसुह  
 दाहामयनर्मनिस्वे। स्वार्थलाक  
 मिषतिष्ठुजुयजुक्कवालाकलि।  
 ॥२७७॥ विस्वतयुक्कलावतंसतांतंम  
 तांगनिमघानिघानिना। वासुक्कद॥  
 निजधिरसावदिसावाहलदक्षितं  
 द्वियविदि॥



FIGS. 35 AND 36



“Grazing at will on the fresh pomegranates amid the shade of the trees in Vṛndāvana, the cows found their way by sniffing the footprints (or, by kissing the feet; or, the verses) of Govinda, which were scented with the essence of the Scripture.” (236)

FIGURE 31. Folio 46, *recto*. Vishnu, four-armed, bearing mace, discus, and conch, seated on a throne in a pavilion tilted backwards (compare Folio 18). Kneeling before him is his vehicle, the man-bird Garuḍa. Over each is an honorific parasol. Facing Vishnu in an attitude of adoration stands a male figure, possibly that of the author. In the upper right-hand corner is a *tulasī* plant in a pot. On the roof of Vishnu’s spired pavilion is a parrot.

Stanza 242:

*ayi pañkajanetramūlimūlatulasīmañjari kiṁ cid arpayāmi* (MS °*mim*)  
*avabodbaya pārthasārathe tvam caranābjāiḥ saraṇābbhilāṣiṇam* (MS  
 °*nām*) *mām*. (242)

“Hail, thou who wearest a cluster of the *tulasī* on a base that has thy lotus-eyes as its base (that is, the forehead), I would offer thee something. With the lotuses of thy feet, O charioteer of Arjuna, awaken me as I come to thee seeking refuge.” (242)

This is an allusion to the familiar Hindu idea that the touch of an auspicious person’s foot will cause trees or plants to leaf or flower. The *tulasī* plant is sacred to Vishnu.

FIGURE 32. Folio 47, *recto*. The scene is beside the banks of the Yamunā. Krishna appears in four-armed form, bearing two of Vishnu’s attributes, the mace and the discus. The text in stanza 248 speaks of him as being in his youthful form. Before him appear three figures in attitudes of adoration. The nearest to Krishna is the author, who says he worships Krishna. The other two are sages wearing long hair bound up, which is characteristic of them in this series. They are meant to be Nārada and some other, who, according to the same stanza, serve Krishna (*nāradaḍimuniḥ* *ca sevitaṁ*). A potted *tulasī* plant appears in the upper right-hand corner, and two swans in the lower left-hand.

FIGURE 33. Folio 48, *recto*. In the upper division there appear, at the left Krishna tied to a stake (compare Folio 6, *verso*) in punishment for stealing butter and curds, with a *gopī* (possibly Yaśodā) standing behind him, and at the right two *gopīs* churning. At the very top are two vessels suspended from the ceiling in a device made of ropes; even these Krishna was always able to obtain. In the lower division are seated three *gopīs*, one holding a vessel, another two balls of butter. In stanza 253 allusion is made to the tying of Krishna.

*ghoṣasya ghoṣaśamanāya mitho guṇena*  
*madhye babandha* (MS *vabandha*) *jananī navaṇītacāuram*  
*tad bandhanam trijagatām* (MS °*gatīm*) *udarāśrayāṇām*  
*ākrośakāraṇam aho nītarām babhūva*. (253)

“His mother tied the butter-thief by the waist with a thong to still the complaints of Ghoṣa. That bondage, indeed, became without mitigation a cause of outcry for the three worlds, whose refuge is his lap.” (253)

FIGURE 34. Folio 51, *recto*. Architectural setting. On the face of the small balcony at the top is a design of two swans with intertwined necks, which is frequent in Indian art. The picture illustrates the story of Krishna and the she-demon Pūtānā. When Krishna was a few days old, king Kāṁsa sent Pūtānā to kill him. She filled her breasts with poison, dressed herself in fine clothes and ornaments, went to the house of Nanda and Yaśodā, praised the appearance of Krishna, and asked Yaśodā to let her nurse him. Yaśodā suspecting nothing handed over the child. But when Krishna sucked Pūtānā’s breast, he sucked out her very life, and she fell over dead,



FIGS. 37 AND 38



षोडशस्रणयकलादत्पान्य  
 मुक्तुयातायातकमावृति  
 तवतीमापततीनिरीह्य।मञ्जलि  
 स्वांशणयवपलादवतालिगशा।  
 भयावबुधयउपमरमेतावदासी  
 लुकेदः॥१६५नालिःशालाकधं  
 तः॥फणधरपनिनिदरिक्थर  
 वांतादक्षाद्विदरिवांतादशनिश  
 पिदशानिनिनिर्विखवेतःका॥



हयत्पमलमारषिमदनत  
 मलक्षीनमत्यायाधरयु  
 गस्वलीमरमवेदनस्थाम  
 कःअश्विगणविस्तरःम  
 कलाकशिकंसांगतांक  
 णालफलाकाक्षमनिल  
 कसंगदारीदरिः॥३१३  
 यत्पुत्रसुंदरीनयनवा  
 रिसंवदितप्रतापतरु  
 क्षमत्रुणाकिकिववि  
 दला॥



FIGS. 39 AND 40



FIG. 41. GROUP OF WORSHIPPERS. INDIAN SCULPTURE, ABOUT ELEVENTH CENTURY



assuming her natural form as a demon (*rākṣasī*). In folk-tales a disguised demon must at death assume its natural form. Later the cowherds cut her body to pieces. But because she had acted as his nurse, Krishna gave her salvation. The figure at the left holding Krishna is presumably that of Yaśodā. At the right is Pūtānā dying, with Krishna sucking her breast, a garland above him.

*aho bakī 'yam stanakālakūṭam  
jighāṁsayā 'pāyayad apy asādhvī  
lebhe gatim dhātryucitām tato 'nyam  
kaṁ vā dayāluṁ śaranam vrajāmaḥ* (MS *vrājamaḥ*).  
(269, marked 59 in the manuscript)

“Ah, Pūtānā (*bakī*)! Although this wicked creature gave him the *kālakūṭa* poison to drink from her breast, intending to kill him, she obtained a fate suitable to a nurse. Who else (besides Krishna) then, is there full of mercy, to whom we should go for refuge?” (269)

FIGURE 35. Folio 52, *recto*. In an architectural setting stand three figures. The male at the right probably represents Krishna's elder brother Balarāma (Baladeva); the child Krishna is in the middle; Yaśodā is at the right. The picture illustrates Krishna's eating of dirt, which is narrated in stanza 275, as follows:

*kṛṣṇenāद्या gatena rantum adhunā mṛd bhaksitā svecchayā  
satyam kṛṣṇa kim etad āha muśalī mithyā 'mba paśyānanam  
vyadehī vikāṣite* (MS *vikāṣite*) *ca vadane drṣṭvā samastam jagad  
mātā tasya jagāma vismayapadam pāyāt sa naḥ keśavaḥ.* (275)

“Krishna now went to the road and ate dirt according to his desire. ‘Truly, Krishna, what is this?’ said Baladeva, but in vain. ‘Mother, look at his face!’ ‘Open!’ said she. When he opened his mouth, then his mother saw within the entire universe (the three worlds), and she was amazed. May that Keśava (Kṛṣṇa) protect us!” (275)

FIGURE 36. Folio 54, *recto*. Vishnu, four-armed, is seated in his pavilion (compare Folio 18), holding in one of his upper hands the discus, and probably in the other, which does not appear in the damaged painting, his mace. The text, however, says horn and mace (*śrṅgavetre*). At the fingers of his lower left hand are lotuses (*vāme pāṇāu maṣṇakavalam*—read *°kamalam?*—*tatphalāny aṅguḷiṣu*). Around his waist are the usual garments. Before him is the concourse of his friends, represented by four cowherds. The one on the lower tier nearer to Vishnu lacks the usual headdress of the cowherds, appearing more like the author (as pictured in Folios 8, *verso*, and 47) but the end of his staff seems to show at the very edge of the preserved portion of the scene. Below are the cows.

FIGURE 37. Folio 53, *recto*. The picture is badly damaged, but it is clear that it consisted of Krishna in the center (the tip of his blue elbow is visible, and one blue foot), two *gopī* attendants at the right, and a female facing him. The text would indicate that this is Yaśodā. We have in stanza 280:

*mātas tarṇnakarakṣaṇāya* (MS *mātasūrṇnaka°*) *yamunākaccham na gacchāmy aham  
kasmād vatsa pinaṣṭi pīvarakucadvamdvena gopījanam  
bhrūsamjñāvinivārīto 'pi babuśo jalpan yaśodāgrato  
gopīpāṇisarojamudritamukho dāmodaram pātu vah.* (280)

“‘Mother, I am not going to the Yamunā bank to herd the calves.’ ‘Why not, my child?’ ‘The *gopīs* distress me with their contests as to who has the fullest breasts.’ Although frequently reproved by Yaśodā with brow-admonishment, he continued talking before her. May Dāmodara (Belly-bound, Krishna), whose face is marked with the lotus-hands of the *gopīs*, protect you!” (280)

The giving of signs by means of the eyebrows is a rubric in the wider subject of “language of gesture.” For its use in the dance, see Coomaraswamy, *The Mirror of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1917), page 24.

FIGURE 38. Folio 56, *verso*. This badly damaged painting obviously showed Krishna at the left seated on a throne, with a *gopī* attending him as a whisk-bearer. At the right were three *gopīs* who appear to have been doing honour to Krishna. The cornice of the building is ornamented with two small *chattris* (bowers) on which appear swans. Perched on the edges of these bowers are parrots. The stanzas do not seem related to the painting, in so far as I can guess the subject of the scene.

FIGURE 39. Folio 50, *recto*. Interior scene. At the left two *gopīs* embracing; at the right Krishna, four-armed, is watching them. The interpretation of the scene is perhaps indicated by stanza 265:

*prāudhīm prāpte prañayakalāhe 'nyonyamukte* (MS *°nyam mukte*) *tu yātā-*  
*yāte kṛṣṇānukṛtibhavadīm āpatantī nirīksya*  
*matvā 'līm svām prañayacapalād eva sāliṅgya* (MS *tāliṅgya*) *rādhā*  
*jāvac cumbaty anuṣamarasaṁ tāvad āsīn mukundaḥ.* (265)

For this I suggest: "When their love conflict had reached its climax and they were going here and there separated from each other, Rādhā, flying towards a lady in the guise of Krishna, looked at her, thought it was her confidante, and in the hastiness of her love embraced her; when she kissed her with supreme devotion, it was Krishna." (265)

The situation is possibly that in the forest when Krishna at the time of the Rāsalīlā deserts, first, the *gopīs*, then Rādhā. They all search for him. The picture would show Rādhā and Krishna separated, and then, by application of the principle of "continuous narrative," Rādhā embracing the friend.

FIGURE 40. Folio 59, *verso*. The scene is the battle between Rāma, hero of the epic Rāmāyaṇa, and his enemy, the demon Rāvaṇa. Rāma was the seventh *avatāra* of Vishnu; his wife was Sītā. The ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā and carried her to his fortress in Laṅkā (generally regarded as Ceylon). Hanumat, the general of the monkeys, assembled his forces to aid Rāma, bridged the strait between India and Ceylon by means of peaks brought down from the Himalayas, and then with Rāma and Rāma's brother, Lakṣmaṇa, advanced against the demon. After various preliminary events, Rāma defeated Rāvaṇa and recovered Sītā.

In the picture Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa appear in their chariot, which is drawn by two horses, and opposite them Rāvaṇa in his chariot, with only one animal—its tail looks like that of a donkey. Above the two heroes is a parasol. They wear long hair, as the other gods generally do in this series. Each holds a drawn bow and has a quiver by his side; only the ends of the arrows can be seen protruding from the quivers. Their costume consists of a kind of trousers (*paijāma*) tucked into boots with tips curved back. Before them on a standard is Hanumat. Eight of Rāvaṇa's heads appear as human heads, but bearing hair like that of the gods and the usual pointed headdress; a ninth head is supposed to be in the back, out of sight. In the center above these heads is Rāvaṇa's tenth head, that of a donkey, symbolizing his lustful character—with Hindus the ass is considered the lecherous animal—and perhaps also his stupidity. Rāvaṇa's costume, unlike that of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, is that usually worn by males in this series. Fifteen of his twenty hands are represented, some of which handle his bow and his battle-axe.

Two monkey warriors with drawn bows accompany Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and two warriors in human form, closely resembling the cowherd type of this series, accompany Rāvaṇa. The severed heads of five more of Rāvaṇa's warriors rest upright on the ground.

FIGURE 41. Indian sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. A group of worshippers, of whom the first two are certainly sages (*ṛṣi*) and possibly the third as well. Western or Central India, about eleventh century.





